

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Opinions of Senator Morton on Reconciliation.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

In his speech on the Funding bill, delivered in the Senate July 13, Senator Morton took ground, side by side with Pendleton and Butler, that it is lawful and right for the Government to pay the Fifty-twenty bonds in legal-tender notes.

"The notes herein authorized shall be received in payment of all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, and demands of every kind due the United States, except duties on imports, and all claims and demands against the United States of any kind whatsoever, except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin, and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest thereon."

Neither the provision above quoted, nor any of the others produced by the Indiana Senator, makes any exception in favor of greenbacks. Greenbacks, he declares, are therefore to be paid in legal-tender notes. For, to use the argument and the very words of the Senator, "If you prove that the Government is bound to pay these (greenbacks) in coin, you do it in the face of four direct and plain statutes, as unequivocal as any statute that ever was written."

Every greenback carries on its face a promise on the part of the United States to pay a certain number of dollars to the bearer. What of that? The people of the United States, upon Senator Morton's interpretation of the acts of Congress, are at liberty forever to repudiate these promises. They are furthermore at liberty to keep them depressed thirty per cent. below their par value. And if thirty per cent. why not ninety-nine? On the plea of relieving tax-payers and keeping to the letter of the law, Pendleton, Morton, Butler, and Stevens, in company with the La Crosse Democrat and the main body of those who will vote the Democratic ticket in November, propose to perpetrate this swindle on the creditors of the Government until the entire national debt disappears, paid without the departure of a single gold dollar from the Treasury.

What a revolution has swept over the financial opinions of Senator Morton since August 27, 1862, may be gathered from the following extracts from a speech of his made in Columbus, Ohio, at that time.

"The Democratic leaders of the North intend to make their final and desperate stand for existence and power upon that question (repudiation). They will not only repudiate the obligations of the people, to their capacity, to their selfishness, to the satanic temptation of exemption from taxes, to the poor against the rich, and to labor against capital, but they will also repudiate the obligations of the Government to the people, in the latest forms in which repudiation has shown its horrid front. It is the proposition to pay off the whole national debt, in greenbacks, and to give every absurd to talk about paying a debt by giving another obligation for it which is not to be paid. And I notice this proposition, as a weak device of the enemies, by which they approach direct repudiation."

General Rosecrans for Mexico—Our Relations with Mexico.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The appointment by the President, and the prompt confirmation by the Senate of General Rosecrans as Minister to Mexico during the closing hours of the late session of Congress, will be something of a pleasant surprise to the country. A patriotic soldier, whose splendid services to the Union cause in the great work of suppressing our late Southern rebellion will never be forgotten while the nation lives, a fine scholar, a man of liberal ideas, and a good Catholic, General Rosecrans is the very man as our Minister to Mexico to make the most favorable impression on that Government and people in reference to the wishes and purposes of the United States in our future relations with that country. Such an appointment is of itself the most flattering recognition of the government of Juarez, and carries with it the most friendly intimation that as far as possible our Government will assist him in the establishment of law and order, industry, and prosperity, in accordance with the Monroe doctrine.

Since the French invasion and the establishment of the empire of Maximilian our relations with Mexico have been mainly conducted through Senor Romero, Minister of the republic at Washington. Since the withdrawal of the French army of occupation and the overthrow of the empire, with the death of Maximilian, the republic has been awaiting at the national capital a duly accredited Minister from Washington. Meantime the representatives in Mexico of all the European Governments who had recognized and served under the empire having been dismissed with the restoration of the republic, General Rosecrans will be the first ambassador on the ground from any of the great powers in the work of reopening commercial relations under the republic. To a question on the subject in the British House of Commons, on Monday last, Lord Stanley replied that Mexico (the republic) broke off her relations with England in consequence of England's recognition of the empire of Maximilian; that if the republic should make overtures for their resumption there would be no difficulty about it; but that dignity and self-respect would not permit England to solicit the renewal of official intercourse between the two countries. And so it is with France, Spain, Belgium, and Austria. General Rosecrans, therefore, on his arrival at the Mexican capital will find himself, in reference to the international affairs of Juarez, master of the situation.

Meanwhile our special correspondent at Rome has given us a curious bit of news in relation to Juarez and the Church and Church party. It thus appears that with all his sins and transgressions against the Church and the Church property of Mexico Juarez has found grace with the forgiving Holy Father; that his Holiness, at the request of Juarez, has confirmed the nomination of six bishops made by the latter to sees in Mexico; that the Pope seized the opportunity for a hit at the heretic Primate Minister of Austria, in announcing these appointments to the cardinals in consistency directly after delivering his allocution against the abolition of the Austrian Concordat, and that such juxtaposition must deeply wound the Austrian Imperial family and still further widen the breach between Vienna and Rome. Juarez is said to have written an autograph letter to the Pope, couched in the most pious style, apologizing for his past acts and promising a splendid future for the church in Mexico. On this tack, however, Juarez will be apt to fall, as Maximilian failed in betraying the party with which he came into power. It was the liberal party with Juarez. It was the Church party with Maximilian.

The European complications suggested on the Mexican question from these new relations between Juarez and the Holy Father were at

strongly tempted to consider. It will suffice for the present that they must widen the breach between the Pope and Austria, and tend to closer relations between Austria, Italy and Germany at large and Russia. We are dealing, however, with the mission of General Rosecrans to Mexico. As a good Catholic he will command the confidence of Juarez, his government and people, all Catholics; but as a good American, General Rosecrans may be useful to Juarez in defining to him the beauty and simplicity of the American system of the complete separation and independence of the Church and State. The world is coming to this; Austria is breaking ground in this direction; Austria, in a bold stride, has advanced from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century; in Mexico we had supposed the question settled in the removal of the late empire, after a series of bloody struggles running through nearly half a century. If Juarez is now on the back track he will be swept aside. As the best advice we can give him we should advise him on this vital question of Church and State to consult freely with General Rosecrans, if he would learn the secret of the internal strength of the Government of the United States and the way to a prosperous prolongation of Mexican independence.

Disturbing Reconstruction.

From the N. Y. Times.

The World sends forth the Blair and Hampton poison somewhat diluted, as in this paragraph:

"Why should reconstruction be more sacred than anything else? The radicals have derided, sneered and derided the wise and able and beneficent Federal Constitution, and made it a thing of no account, and yet a whisper against this precious Africanizing scheme of reconstruction of theirs is met by a whirlwind of abuse and execrations. To shut off all inquiry into its merits they have said it is a fixed fact, and appeal to the cowardice of the people not to disturb it. Why shouldn't it be disturbed if it is wrong? We are a practical people, and if a fact was fixed an hundred times over, and fixed wrong, that is no reason but that it should be fixed an hundred times more, if necessary, until it is fixed right. We want no loose ends left hanging in this matter, and it may be as well for these gentlemen to understand the purpose of the people."

This is milk and water, compared with the strong stuff of the Blair letter, the Democratic platform, or the speeches of Southern Rebels. It shows that though our contemporary's flesh is willing to go all lengths with and for its party, its spirit is hesitating and weak.

For the information of this anxious inquirer, we may remark that nobody has claimed for reconstruction a sanctity superior to all lawful methods of change. Nobody has alleged that it should not be disturbed "if it is wrong;" nor has anybody that we have heard of objected to all needed amendments, "until it is fixed right." We entreat the World, therefore, to dispel all fears upon this head. It may go forth unarméd, and urge the expediency of as many reforms in regard to the working of reconstruction as experience shall show to be necessary.

But there are two ways of "disturbing" reconstruction, and we fear that the World, in its desire to keep Black Pomeroy off the track, has lost the clear light which until recently guided its steps. Its opinion within less than a month was that any changes heretofore to be made in the government of the reconstructed States must be made by and through the people of the States themselves. It said, for instance, not many weeks ago, "that negro suffrage cannot be protracted by the Federal Government, even under Democratic control." It said again, that "when the negro Constitutions go into operation, the former State Governments will be defunct."

Still later, discussing the "very contingency which the Rebel leaders threaten, it maintained that the local Government entitled to call on the President for support, "is the one which is recognized by Congress by the admission of Senators and representatives chosen under it." It asserted the existence of "a complete chain of legal obligations, binding the Federal authority to sustain the new Governments against any attempts to change them without their consent." We might multiply these citations, if it were necessary, to show still later and how exactly the World understood the position before the nomination of Seymour and Blair on a revolutionary platform.

The World was then alive to the folly and danger of all modes of disturbing reconstruction by Federal power, or by force, or by any other agency than that which the new Constitutions respectively indicate. Whence the change in our contemporary's views? Whence the distorted vision, the affected horror of "the sanctity of reconstruction," and the timid, wavering, and unsatisfactory play, in behalf of the revolutionists?

We entreat our contemporary to turn for consolation and encouragement to its own columns previous to the date of the New York Convention. It may take a few doses of physic with decided benefit to its moral health. It may learn afresh that henceforward the reconstructed States have their local affairs in their own keeping, and that if the Southern leaders of its party attempt to interfere with the local authorities by violence, the President will be bound to step in and hang them. It will then see why reconstruction "shouldn't be disturbed" after Democratic fashion, even though it be not perfect, while it will perceive that all needed improvements may in due time be lawfully and peaceably introduced.

"Negro Supremacy."

From the Chicago Republican.

There is no greater trash of nonsense than the current talk about the degradation of white men resulting from black men voting. The real degeneracy consists in the malignant stubbornness which refuses to acknowledge in the negro anything more than a Heaven-decreed bondman. The Democratic contempt for impartial suffrage is but a silly manifestation of aristocratic disdain—the feeling of the lady of quality, who, being on her death-bed, asked her spiritual adviser whether she and her cock would occupy equal positions in the mansions of the blest, or whether she would be assigned to her appropriate sphere in the parlor, and Biddy to her natural place in the kitchen. Nobody, who believes in a future state of rewards and punishments, doubts that the souls of some white men will be writhing and howling in torments, while the souls of some black men will be supremely happy in the everlasting city. If a being with a dusky skin, kinky wool, flat nose, thick lips, and ebon shins can qualify himself by a life of purity on earth, for association with angels in the perpetual presence of Jehovah, how narrow a contracted must be the heart that refuses to recognize such a being in the flesh as a "man and a brother."

While Democratic speakers and writers insist that negro suffrage is an intolerable and loathsome outrage upon the white man, they neglect to explain how it is that conferring a right upon a person with an ebon skin operates to degrade a man with a white skin. If Sambo is the being he is represented to be—an ignorant, prejudiced, superstitious, incapable fellow, dependent in every element of his nature, and without progressive capacity—then the superior race has nothing to fear from the ballot wielded by his low grade of intelligence, for his embodiment, his repository of mind which become plastic in the hands of high intellect. But the whole history of the

past shows that the portraiture of the ex-slave, as drawn by the ex-master, is a monstrous deformity, unlike the reality as those old pictures of the Last Supper, in which our Saviour is depicted as sitting at a table garnished with all manner of modern cutlery, glassware, and dishes.

In the days when the plantation aristocrats had possession of the general Government, the Southerners delighted to represent the negroes as "a simple, dependent, affectionate race," yet the master was constantly on the alert against slave insurrections. Amid the grim realities of war, the chattel was boasted of as a model of attachment and fidelity, full of admiration for his manacles. It was not until the black man refused by his conduct the theory of his character so long presented to the world by his owner, that he was hated and despised. It was the unwelcome lesson of his patriotism, his love of freedom, his prowess, and his unbending independence of thought, taught on hundreds of battle-fields, in the range that shattered drummery and death throughout the Rebel ranks, that made him an object of supreme aversion to his former master, and precipitated upon his almost helpless head the weight of an implacable, yet unreasonable resentment. His enemies fully comprehend his power of self-protection involved in the possession of suffrage. It is to disarm him, and place him completely at the mercy of his foes, that the cry of "negro supremacy" has been raised. None better understand the fallacy of the slogan than those who shout it loudest.

It is true that the negro is not learned, nor refined, nor rich, and yet they are making signal progression in each of these directions. At their present rate of improvement, not many years will be required to make them, in all respects of intellectual capacity and of property acquisitions, the equals of the whites, taken in mass. Even the Israelites, delivered from bondage, do not appear to have advanced so quickly as these emancipated blacks, in all the elements of mental elevation and material prosperity.

Had the Anglo-Saxon race been enslaved for centuries, been kept in forced ignorance; been reduced to drudgery and toil, been degraded in caste, and restrained in the power of self-amelioration; been deprived of the right to acquire property; been sold from hand to hand as so many horses or swine; been doomed to unavoidable prostitution; been burned at the stake, or hung to a gibbet, in punishment for resisting the authority of the master; been beaten with many stripes on small provocation; been separated for life, at will of the owner, from wife and children; and been hunted down with bloodhounds, and consigned to unmerciful chastisement, or to outright torture, for the attempt to escape from a grinding and unrelenting and despotic—had such calamities befallen for ages those who now are ex-masters, then they probably would not have exhibited, on being set free, without home, land, plough, horses, money, trade, or education, a nobler progression, within three years, than have the ex-slaves. Yet we might have had, after the manner of now, a senseless cry about "white supremacy."

The Way Mr. Seymour Supported the Government in 1862.

From the Pillsbury Commercial.

In 1862 Seymour's great anxiety was to have the draft stopped. Had it been done it would have given the Rebels the victory. At the most effective way to assist them he set himself at work to have the draft stopped, stimulated the mob to resist its execution, and backed by his own personal application the demand of his description of his "friends" that the law should not be executed. What makes the matter all the worse for Seymour, and shows conclusively where his heart was, is the fact that he was not only a man of noble mind and loyal men were striving hardest, that he pled his efforts most vigorously to prevent enlistments and the execution of the draft. He interposed all sorts of quibbles, and finally interposed the plea of unconstitutionality, which usually takes longest to decide—the plea which lawyers hopeless of gaining their case but anxious only to stave off decision as long as possible, frequently fall back on. Seymour knew that what the Rebels, beaten at Gettysburg and hard pushed at many points, wanted was time. This he undertook to gain for them by attempting to have the draft suspended until the Rebels could be completely routed. He could be taken into the courts and tested—a process which might last six months or six years. Such a proposition he addressed to Mr. Lincoln, who replied to him under date of August 8, 1862, as follows:—"Your communication of the 31 instant has been received and attentively considered. I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, or elsewhere, for any reason, among other reasons, TIME IS TOO IMPORTANT."

After suggesting explanations of the alleged discrepancies in the calculations for the draft, and expressing a readiness to have all real errors corrected, Mr. Lincoln continued, in response to other propositions of the Government:—"I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Court, or of the Judge thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it. But I cannot consent to lose the time by such a proceeding. We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a driver drives a horse into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our own victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side. If we first waste our time to re-examine with the voters, who are already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time is consumed in a court decision whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with the voters whether we get those who are to go in the precise legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country."

It was in this way that Mr. Lincoln was compelled to argue with the Governor of the largest State in the darkest time of the Rebellion. Is there any reason why his nomination should not be received in the South with the greatest approbation, and supported with the greatest zeal?

An Issue of Fact Decided.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

For the last three years we have been urged by Southern to advise emigrants to seek the cheap lands, genial climate, etc., of the South. We have often done so, but with reservations. We tell Northern men who seek new homes that the South offers great inducements, but that they will do well to settle in neighborhoods, forty or fifty families in a cluster, so as to have their own mechanics, traders, etc., and not be dependent on others; for we don't like the spirit evinced by a large portion of the Southern whites towards those who dissent from their politics. We can advise no man to make his home where he will be obliged to support any particular party under the penalty of social ostracism. This view has been repeatedly arraigned, publicly and privately, as narrow and uncharitable, and our Northern people assured that

they may think and act as they please at the South, provided they obey the laws. The speech of Howell Cobb at the Democratic Ratification meeting at Atlanta, Ga., on the 23d inst., affords a striking and unadvised confirmation of our view.

Howell Cobb is a representative man. He was a Democratic member of Congress for many years, and was Speaker during the Thirty-first. He was thence transferred to the Senate, where he served with distinction until called to the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, as Secretary of the Treasury. While holding that most responsible position he perverted his great powers to the furtherance of secession, and was powerfully instrumental in forcing Georgia into rebellion. When he at length resigned to go South, he left the finances in a state of chaos; having depleted the Treasury to pay off millions of debt not yet due at a large premium, and then tried to borrow at most ruinous rates to fill the vacuum. Most certainly, if man was ever a traitor, then was Howell Cobb a traitor. A noble—having done his utmost to destroy the Union—he is disfranchised by Congress.

Joseph R. Brown is also a Georgian by birth and life-long residence, was elected Governor as a Democrat, and did much to plunge Georgia into Rebellion. Having got enough of this, he is now a Republican, favors universal amnesty and impartial suffrage, and is regarded as a radical leader. Of him, and such as he, Howell Cobb thus speaks in his harangue reported in our last:—"A friend told me, as I was coming here the other day, that he had heard another man say a speech that I had made at Davis Hall, I had made half a dozen votes for Joe Brown. Well, I came to make half a dozen more to-day. He and his associates were at Chicago, and his associates joined and united in pronouncing this infamous doctrine—the bigger is good enough for the smaller. I was born in Ohio and New York. Are not the people of Georgia right in assigning him the status which he has taken for himself? If I alters are wrong, that is because he is a Georgia man. Georgia that he is, and I shall not dispute the doctrine. (Laughter and applause.) Let him speak with them, but write men of this country, out from here. I would say 'Amen.' Amen and Amen! Let it reverberate over your mountains, down your valleys, over the hills and over the plain, men, women and your children, until our good chorus shall ring through every troubling heart: O'board with him! He has turned his back on his country. He has turned his back on his friends, I feel sorry for the negro. That is six more votes for Joe Brown. I will give him about three more, and quit him. I say to you, my friends, you owe it to yourselves, you owe it to the noble dead who sleep in their graves, to observe these things. Go to the graves of our fathers, and scatter flowers over those graves. God bless you for it! They're the graves of good, true, and honest, and noble, and brave, and generous men. But as you for your selfish duty, turn your back to the right and left upon those who dishonor the memory of the dead, you owe it to the living, you owe it to our own children and to their children. Write down their memories this day and all days and for all time to come the feeling and spirit of abhorrence with which you regard and detest these men. O, Heaven! for some blistering words that I may write infamy upon the forehead of these men, (applause), that they may travel brought cast down of all men and rejected of Heaven, scorned by the Devil himself. They may seek their final congenial resting place in the mud of the infernal spirit's institution. (Laughter and applause.)"

—This is the language of an implacable Rebel—a captured and paroled Rebel—toward one who, formerly a Rebel, has chosen to be a Rebel no longer. Howell Cobb exhorts his fellow Rebels to hold no intercourse with such men as ex-Governor Brown—he would write words of infamy on their foreheads, and have them despised of men, rejected of heaven, scorned by the Devil himself.

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Should any such calamity as the election of Seymour be inflicted on our country, all white Republicans will be driven pell-mell from the South as they were at the outbreak of the former Rebellion. Indeed, those who got away alive may esteem themselves fortunate. The blacks will generally be allowed to stay, provided they resign the right of suffrage and split quietly into vassalage. The bolder spirits will be killed or driven out. Hence we advise Northern men who are not Copperheads, not to migrate Southward until it shall have been settled that they may then enjoy the protection of the laws. After Grant and Colfax shall have been elected, they may go without fear.

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